

Message Text

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E. O. 11652: XGDSI

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SUBJECT: SALT: HIGHLIGHTS OF MARCH 20 POST- MEETING DISCUSSIONS

REF: USDEL SALT TWO- II 104

1. SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE POST MEETING DISCUSSIONS NOTED REFTEL. END SUMMARY
2. JOHNSON- SEMONOV CONVERSATION, A-148: IN HIS BILATERAL WITH SEMENOV TODAY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON STRESSED FIRMNESS OF HIS POSITION ON NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS AND SUGGESTED THAT SEMENOV PUT THE SUBJECT ASIDE SO THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO COME TO GRIPS WITH CENTRAL SYSTEMS. SEMENOV SAID THAT HE COULD NOT AGREE, BUT FELT HE HAD TO CONTINUE TO PRESENT SOVIET PACKAGE WHILE HE EXPECTED US WOULD PURSUE PARALLEL ROUTE OF PRESENTING ITS POSITION. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT US WOULD " NOT LIMIT ITSELF TO THE MERE PRO- NUNCIATION OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES" BUT WOULD SPELL OUT ITS PROPOSAL IN MORE SPECIFIC TERMS AND THAT ANY SUCH DETAILED PROPOSAL " WOULD BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED IN MOSCOW." HE AVOIDED ANY DIRECT REPLY TO JOHNSON' S FOLLOW- UP QUESTIONS ON HIS PREVIOUS INQUIRIES WITH RESPECT TO MEANING OF BREZHNEV' S REFERENCES TO REDUCTIONS AND QUALITATIVE LIMITS. DURING COURSE OF DISCUSSION, SEMENOV SAID THAT HE THOUGHT " WE DO NOT HAVE TOO MUCH TIME AT OUR DISPOSAL." JOHNSON
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SAID THAT NO DEADLINES HAD BEEN SET FOR HIM AND SEMENOV
DISCLAIMED HAVING HAD ANY SET FOR HIM.

3. MIRVS: SHCHUKIN (A-149 NOTED THAT BROWN AND NITZE AT THE PRECEDING MEETING HAD ASKED HIM QUESTIONS RE MIRVS BUT HAD GIVEN NO INDICATION OF THE U. S. VIEWS ON THOSE QUESTIONS. HE ASKED THAT THEY DO SO. NITZE POINTED OUT THAT SHCHUKIN HAD RAISED MIRV QUESTION AT DECEMBER 1972 MEETINGS AND BROWN HAD RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT THE QUESTION REMAINED OPEN, ASKING FOR SUGGESTIONS. SINCE THEN BREZHNEV HAD REFERRED TO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS IN A RECENT IMPORTANT SPEECH. WE WONDERED WHETHER IN THE LIGHT OF THAT SPEECH THE SOVIETS HAD A SPECIFIC SUGGESTION; WE CONSIDER THE BALL TO BE IN THEIR COURT. SHCHUKIN SAID THE GAME ANALOGY WAS NOT A GOOD ONE. SHCHUKIN ASKED BROWN WHETHER HE HAD ANY FURTHER THOUGHTS ON MIRV. BROWN RESPONDED THAT HE THOUGHT SOMETHING NEAR THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD BE SUITABLE. SHCHUKIN ASKED WHETHER THAT MEANT THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE U. S. OR THE USSR. BROWN RESPONDED THAT THE ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WAS BASED ON THE U. S. BEING AHEAD ON SOME THINGS AND THE SOVIET UNION ON OTHERS. THE CURRENT U. S. MIRV ADVANTAGE WAS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HAD ALLOWED THE U. S. TO AGREE IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT TO SOVIET ADVANTAGE IN NUMBERS OF ICBMS, THE POSSESSION OF LARGE ICBMS, AND A LARGER NUMBER OF SUBMARINE LAUNCHED MISSILES. SHCHUKIN REFERRED TO KISSINGER' S PRESS CONFERENCE ALONG THOSE LINES IN MAY 1972. BROWN SAID HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE SAME GENERAL CONCEPT.

4. TRUSOV (TO ROWNY, A-147) ASKED WHETHER THE U. S. SIDE WOULD HAVE SOME CONCRETE PROPOSALS TO MAKE AT THIS PHASE ON QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS, SPECIFICALLY CONCERNING MIRV. ROWNY SAID THAT HE HAD NO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, AND AGAIN EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF WORKING OUT AN AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE U. S. GENERAL PRINCIPLES PRESENTED ON 16 MARCH.

5. NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS: SHCHUKIN (TO NITZE/ BROWN, A-149) NOTED CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE SOVIET POSITION ON FBS. THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT BASE DISMANTLING " AT A DATE TO BE DETERMINED" RATHER THAN IMMEDIATELY; AIRCRAFT CARRIERS WERE TO BE WITHDRAWN BEYOND A CERTAIN LINE, AS WAS THE CASE FOR SUBMARINES, RATHER THAN COUNTED AS STRATEGIC, NO MATTER WHERE THEY WERE.

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6. NITZE POINTED OUT THAT THE MAY 29 TH STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SPECIFICALLY ALLUDED TO THE RIGHT OF EACH PARTY TO HAVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THIRD PARTIES PROTECTED. SHCHUKIN SAID HE SAW THIS MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR US TO DISCUSS BASES IN THIRD COUNTRIES IN BILATERAL FORM. NITZE SAID THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE RATHER THAN DIFFICULT. SHCHUKIN NOTED THAT THE U. S. DID FIND IT POSSIBLE TO WITHDRAW FROM BASES -- WITNESS VIETNAM. NITZE AND BROWN POINTED OUT THAT THE U. S. HAS WITHDRAWN FROM CERTAIN BASES IN EUROPE, BUT THIS WAS NOT A RESULT OF BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS

BETWEEN THE U. S. AND THE SOVIET UNION. NITZE ASKED SHCHUKIN WHETHER THE SOVIET SIDE HAD REDUCED ITS BASES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

7. CENTRAL/ NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS IMPASSE: GRINEVSKY (TO KLOSSON, A-145) OBSERVED THAT, DESPITE FACT SOVDEL HAS ALREADY RESPONDED, USDEL CONTINUES TO PRESS FOR SOVIET REPLY TO US PROPOSAL THAT CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS BE DEALT WITH FIRST. SOVIETS REPLIED NEGATIVELY AT GENEVA- I, AGAIN IN THE CURRENT SESSION, AND WOULD CONTINUE TO SAY NO.

8. WHEN ROWNY (TO TRUSOV/ BELETSKIY/ USTINOV, A-147) ASKED FOR REACTION TO U. S. PROPOSALS, SOVIET PARTICIPANTS INSISTED THAT WHAT U. S. CALLS NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS MUST BE PART OF DISCUSSIONS. TRUSOV SAID THOSE WEAPONS NOT COVERED BY INTERIM AGREEMENT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED FIRST, AND ASKED ROWNY' S VIEW ON PROPOSALS MADE IN SEMENOV' S FORMAL STATEMENT. ROWNY RESPONDED THAT HE HAD ALREADY GIVEN VIEW DURING PREVIOUS DISCUSSION, BY STRESSING AGAIN IMPORTANCE OF GETTING ON WITH PROBLEM OF ADDRESSING MOST IMPORTANT THINGS FIRST -- THAT IS, CENTRAL SYSTEMS CONSISTING OF ICBMS, SLBMS, AND HEAVY BOMBERS.

9. SOVIETS ASKED WHY DISCUSSION OF ENTIRE RANGE OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS SHOULD BE POSTPONED, AND WHAT AMBASSADOR JOHNSON MEANT WHEN HE SAID WE MIGHT TURN TO OTHER MATTERS AFTER DEALING WITH CENTRAL SYSTEMS. ROWNY REPLIED WITH SIMPLE STATEMENT THAT BOTH SIDES UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF CENTRAL SYSTEMS AND THE REASONS WHY OUR NEGOTIATIONS MUST DEAL WITH THEM WITHOUT DELAY.

10. CENTRAL SYSTEMS LIMITATIONS: GRINEVSKY (TO KLOSSON, A-145) SAID US FORMULA FOR CENTRAL SYSTEMS LIMITATIONS CONTINUED TO BE ONLY ONE SHORT PARAGRAPH IN OUR PRESENTATIONS. HE EXPRESSED HOPE US WOULD SPELL OUT WHAT IT HAD IN MIND, SPECIFICALLY THE
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ACTUAL CEILINGS WE ENVISAGED.

11. EQUAL SECURITY: WHEN BROWN ASKED SHCHUKIN (A-149) HOW THE LATTER INTERPRETED " EQUAL SECURITY," SHCHUKIN INDICATED THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD FEEL EQUALLY SECURE FROM BEING ATTACKED.

12. SCC: GENERAL USTINOV (TO FITZGERALD, A-146) SAID HE DID NOT SEE MUCH WORK FOR THE SCC BEYOND THE BASIC REGULATIONS FOR SCC PROCEDURES. HE ADDED THAT, NATURALLY, SOVIETS WOULD LISTEN TO ANY MATTERS US WISHED TO RAISE. JOHNSON

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